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THE MORPHOLOGY OF NOMINAL DIMINUTION IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH

by

© HANA PETRUCHA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Morphology of Nominal Diminution in Russian and Czech submitted by Hana Petrucha in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Date: Spring 1975

ABSTRACT

Diminution is a morphological process in which suffixes are attached to noun stems. The suffixing process is accompanied by a change of meaning, i.e., the derived noun denotes a smaller or dearer person than the noun from which it is derived. As opposed to diminution, noun derivation in general (non-expressive derivation) is not accompanied by a shift of meaning which would resemble the diminutive shift of meaning.

Diminution is limited to nouns only, while other types of word formation occur in all parts of speech. Diminution uses the same means for deriving diminutives as word formation, i.e., suffixes. However, there is no change either in the gender or in the grammatical class of the derived noun. In the process of non-expressive derivation, either the gender or the grammatical class or both can differ in the derived noun as compared with these features in the non-derived noun.

The formation of diminutives is very frequent in Standard Contemporary Russian and Czech. Four very common suffixes, viz., -#K, -ik, -#C and -ic, are considered in this thesis in Standard Contemporary Russian and two suffixes, viz., -#K and -#C, in Standard Contemporary Czech. Diminution involving these suffixes can proceed in two stages, which are called first and second degree stages; or the suffixes can be called terminal and non-terminal diminutive suffixes. These are encountered in all genders. The method used in classifying the suffixes follows a descriptive framework, whereby allomorphs are assigned to appropriate morphemes in terms of their distribution and meaning. Second degree diminutive suffixes are combinations of terminal and non-terminal

diminutive suffixes.

The differences which exist in the formation of diminutives in the two languages are in the number of morphemes used. There is a greater variety in the morphemes available for diminution in Russian; i.e., terminal -#K, -ik, -#C and -ic versus the two morphemes used in terminal position in Czech; i.e., -#K, -#C. Also the number of allomorphs available differs.

The results obtained show a great similarity in the formation of diminutives on one hand a larger variety of means available for diminution in Russian. A simplification of the Russian diminutive system occurs in Czech.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
	INTRODUCTION	1
I.	PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON DIMINUTIVES IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH	5
II.	A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN RUSSIAN	14
III.	A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN CZECH	27
IV.	CONCLUSION: A COMPARISON OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH	38
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	43
	APPENDIX	50

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to present a contrastive analysis of the morphology of diminutive noun suffixes in Russian and Czech. In previous research studies, the formation of diminutives has been discussed in a purely classificatory manner, whereas the function of the suffixes has never been studied thoroughly. On the whole, there are very few studies dealing with the contrastive analysis of diminutives in Slavic languages.

In general, diminution is a specific type of word formation. It is a derivational process which involves noun stems (lexical morphemes) and one group of word-formative suffixes, namely, diminutive suffixes. Diminution is distinguished from other types of word formation in that it indicates the manifestation of a special class within the class of derivatives. Diminution is related to word formation in the means used (suffixes) and in the fact that a certain change of meaning is produced.

If the forms "učitel'", "učitel'nica" are considered, the lexical meaning of the two differs; a new form is produced with its own precise meaning. The form "učitel'" refers to a male teacher or to a teacher whose sex is unidentified. The newly formed "učitel'nica" refers to female teachers only and has therefore a new meaning.

The forms "lámpa, lámpočka" are also lexically related. The former can mean either a lamp or a tube; the diminutive "lámpočka" can refer to either and can convey basically the meaning of a small lamp or a small tube. If "lámpočka" refers to a light bulb the formal meaning of diminution is lost. A light bulb may be small or large in relation to

other members of its class, but "small lamp" always contains the semantic feature of diminution.

Apart from certain lexical relationships which accompany diminution, there are purely morphological features which are characteristic of diminution; firstly, diminutive suffixes are attached to noun stems (lexical morphemes), and, secondly, no shift of gender occurs.

In the above discussion it can be seen that there are basically two types of problems in this area. The first problem is concerned with the morphology of diminutives, i.e., the way diminutives are attached to noun stems and what morphophonemic alternations occur. The second problem involves the semantics of diminutives, i.e., the various shades of meaning of diminution that are characteristic of the different suffixes. The problem of meaning will be touched upon only inasmuch as it can serve as a criterion for distinguishing the various diminutive morphemes.

The first chapter will be a short evaluation of the literature available on the subject of diminutives in Russian and Czech. The evaluation will be mainly concerned with the approaches of the authors.

Chapter II will be an analysis of diminutive suffixes which are used in derivational processes in Russian. Some diminutive suffixes will be excluded from the discussion in order to narrow down the area of research for the thesis. The problem of so-called "first" and "second" degree diminutives or terminal versus non-terminal diminutive suffixes will be introduced with regard to the morphological structuring of diminutives. Discussion will be restricted to -#K, -ik, -#C and -ic diminutive suffixes.[1]

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[1] This order will be adhered to in all following chapters.

Chapter III will be concerned with the distributional analysis of diminutive suffixes in Czech. The diminutive suffixes -#K and -#C will be considered for both degrees and all genders.

Chapter IV will contain a line-by-line comparison of the allomorphs of the diminutive suffixes -#K and -#C which occur in Russian and Czech. It will also contain an enumeration of the morphemes occurring in Russian (-#K, -ik, -#C, -ic) and the ones occurring in Czech (-#K, -#C). The whole thesis is based on the assumption that the formation of diminutives is essentially the same in both languages; and that the semantic differentiations are similar in both languages. The goal of this thesis will be to demonstrate this and to explain differences between the two languages, e.g., the number of allomorphs of the suffix -#K.

The Russian data in this thesis has been transliterated from the standard orthography.[1] The reason for preferring the transliteration to a phonetic or phonemic transcription is that only the morphological structure of diminutives is being analyzed.

Stress variations which accompany the process of attaching diminutive suffixes in Russian constitute a problem in their own right and are therefore not treated in this thesis. However, since certain allomorphs can occur only when stressed (e.g., -ok, -ëk), stress must be taken into consideration in the specification of the environment of the suffixes. Stress is marked by an acute accent (′) in the Russian examples.

Examples and data from Czech are given in the standard Czech

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[1]The transliteration is that employed for cyrillic alphabets as specified in the Style Sheet of the Slavic and East European Journal.

orthography. It will be noted that certain changes in vowel length accompany the process of attaching diminutive suffixes. A discussion of these changes is beyond the scope of this thesis. Length in Czech examples is marked by an acute accent (′), as in the standard Czech orthography.

CHAPTER I

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON DIMINUTIVES IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH

1. General Evaluation of Works on Diminutives in Russian and Czech.

It can be seen from the bibliography that many scholars have devoted their time and effort to the study of diminutives. These works differ considerably in value. For this reason it was felt necessary to divide the bibliography into two parts.

The first part, named "Works Cited", contains studies which are of considerable importance to this thesis, and all of these studies are discussed in more detail in parts 2 and 3 of this chapter. The second part of the bibliography, named "Works Consulted", contains studies which are related to the problem of diminutives, but which have not contributed directly to this thesis. This part of the bibliography may be divided into several groups, which represent various approaches. Some authors (Curín, Gromova, Hayeková, Straková, Šmilauer and others) concentrate on particular diminutives (several nouns with diminutive suffixes). The author does not attempt to include "his" diminutives into a larger overview nor consider their morphology; neither does he discuss the meaning of the diminutive noun in any but the most superficial terms.

Another group of authors (Lightner, Horálek, Townsend) discuss in their works a greater field of research than diminutives. These authors include diminutives because they follow some proposed pattern or support some proposed theory. Still other authors (Brence, Fáber, Mrázek,

Pavelka) concentrate on the meaning of the diminutive. Their research is mostly limited to a few specific words and can hardly be considered indispensable as far as this thesis is concerned.

In general the works consulted provide mostly general information and background reading; more valuable information and suggestions are contained in the first part of the bibliography.

2. Research on Russian Diminutives.

One of the oldest and most exhaustive studies undertaken on the subject of diminutive suffixes is contained in Alexander Belić's article.[1] In this work Belić treats diminutive and augmentative suffixes in all Slavic languages. The occurring suffixes are enumerated (for a complete list, see E. Popov).[2] Belić lists the allomorphs of the same suffix as independent units, -k for the masculine gender, -ka for the feminine and -ko for neuter. The above could all be listed as one -k suffix with the appropriate gender marker, and Belić should have at least pointed out the relationship between the above suffixes. This lack of cross-reference occurs in his general treatment of suffixes as well.

The suffixes are also specified in the article with reference to their meaning, but there is no attempt made to show a semantic interrelationship among them. The main drawback in Belić's article would

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[1] Alexander Belić, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der slavischen Deminutiv- und Amplifikativsuffixe," Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, 1901, pp. 134-207.

[2] Elizabeth A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutives, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1967, pp. 4-6.

appear to be the failure to identify any systematic relationship.

Two articles concerning diminutive suffixes have been written by A. Dement'ev.[1] Both articles are mainly concerned with the meaning of diminutive suffixes. Dement'ev establishes several categories of meaning. The basic distinctions in nuances are: diminutive-affectionate, affectionate, approximation, irony and weakened meaning of the underlying noun. In the second part of each of Dement'ev's articles there is a change in approach and a few selected suffixes are systematically treated. This part might be called an attempt at a morphological evaluation. It must be mentioned that only the masculine gender is considered. Some points concerning the distribution of the suffixes are mentioned.

A much more detailed study of diminutives is found in Stankiewicz's dissertation.[2] Suffixes are divided into simple and compound classes. This had not been done previously by any of the above-considered authors.

The following suffixes are listed: Simple: -#k
-ik
-#c
-ic

Compound suffixes - secondary: -#k--#k
-#k--ik
-#č--ik
-ik--#k
-ič--#k

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[1] A. Dement'ev, "Umen'šitel'nye slova v russkom jazyke," Russkij jazyk v škole, Vol. 5, 1953, pp. 5-11; and

id., "Zametki po russkomu slovoobrazovaniju," Učennye zapiski kujbyševskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta, Vol. 13, 1955, pp. 233-54.

[2] Edward Stankiewicz, Declension and Gradation of Russian Substantives in Standard Contemporary Russian, The Hague, Mouton, 1968.

-iš--#k
-uš--#k
-in--#k
-on--#k
-on'--#k

- tertiary: -on--#k--#k
-uš--#k--#k

From the table it can be seen that primary suffixes contain one simple component, while secondary suffixes are composed of two components and tertiary of three.

One of the claims Stankiewicz makes is that secondary suffixes are attached to primary suffixes. This, then, develops into a problem of arranging the compound suffixes into components. Consider, as a concrete example, the word "ruka"; the first degree diminutive formed with the suffix -#k is "ručka"; the second degree diminutive of the same root will be "ručonka". In the example "ručka", -#k- is the primary suffix; in "ručonka" -on is the primary suffix and -#k- the secondary. If other examples are considered ("syn, synok, synoček"; "bereg, berežok, berežoček"), a consistency in the ordering appears. In the feminine gender this consistency becomes even more obvious: "kniga, knižka, knižečka"; "reka, rečka, rečuška, rečen'ka".[1] In all the stated examples the first degree diminutive is formed with the suffix -#k and the second degree with a combination of two -#k suffixes (except "rečuška, rečen'ka"). In the combining process the first degree diminutive suffix follows the second degree diminutive suffix. Stankiewicz does not attempt to explain the apparent inconsistency which appears to develop from his sentence, "the compound suffixes consist of sequences of two or three simple

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[1] Stankiewicz, p. 99.

suffixes."[1] As the ordering of suffixes seems to be a major problem, this will be treated in greater detail in Chapters II and III of this thesis.

An introductory and very general approach to diminutives has been taken by Bratus.[2] The writer enumerated diminutive suffixes by degree and explained the degrees of diminutiveness. The idea of diminution is partially explained by means of standard English and dialectal English examples. There is no attempt to perform a morphological analysis of the suffixes.

The following suffixes are quoted:

first degree:	-ka
	-ik
	-čik
	-ok/-ek
	-eco/-ice
	-ec
	-enok/-onok/-enyš
	-ica
	-inka
	-yš
	-ko/-iko
	-ca
second degree	-en'ka
	-on'ka
	-uška/-juška
	-ušk o/-juško
	-uša/-juša
	-yško/-iško
	-iško
	-aška
	-onka/-enka

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[1] Stankiewicz, p. 102.

[2] B. Bratus, The Formation and Expressive Use of Diminutives, Cambridge, University Press, 1969.

third degree: -očka/-ečka
-ička
-oček/-eček
-onoček/-enoček/-onočka/-enočka
-inočka
-išečka/-išečko/-yšečka/-jušečka
-uročka/-ulen'ka

If this list is compared with Stankiewicz's the first apparent difference is that in the latter the suffixes are cited with regard to morphological principles which the writer wants to illustrate. Stankiewicz's list is therefore shorter and more economical. Bratus's list, on the one hand, is a pure enumeration of suffixes. Newly listed are the following: -enok, -enyš, -yš, -enka, -juška, -uša, -juša, -aška, -inočka, -išečka, -išečko, -yšečka, -jušečka, -uročka, -ulen'ka.

An approach very similar to Bratus' is taken by the Academy Grammar.[1] The chapter about word formation deals with suffixes used for derivation of new expressions. Diminutive suffixes are included among others. The division of derivational suffixes into groups is based on the meaning of the newly formed expression. The list of diminutive suffixes is somewhat shorter than Bratus' since morphological alternations of consonants are considered.

A different approach to diminutives is taken by E. Popov.[2] Her thesis approaches some diminutive suffixes from a semantic point of view. Popov attempts to establish the difference in meaning caused by different diminutive suffixes; therefore, she ascribes meaning to suffixes and illustrates it with examples. Her terminology and nuances of meaning

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[1] Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka, Moscow, Akademija nauk SSSR, pp. 129-38.

[2] Elisabeth A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutives, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford, 1967.

will be considered in later chapters.

3. Research on Czech Diminutives.

The amount of literature written on diminutives in Czech is smaller than in Russian. There is a complete lack of a morphological study of diminutives, as well as a semantic evaluation. A syntactic approach to diminutives has not been attempted in either Russian or Czech. The majority of works written on diminutives in Czech are general introductions to the problem which attempt to explain the nature of diminution.

An extensive list of diminutive suffixes of Czech is given by Belić.[1] The following suffixes are included:

-k suffixes:	-ik, -yk
	-ak
	-ek
	-ka
	-ko
	-íčko
	-átko
	-enka
	-áček
	-íček
	-íčko
	-eček
	-ečko
	-ečka
-c suffixes:	-ica
	-ec
	-ce
	-enec
	-ička
	-eček
	-ečko

[1] Alexander Belić, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der slavischen Deminutiv- und Amplifikativsuffixe," Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, 1901, pp. 154-73.

-isko suffix:	-isko
-t suffix:	-outky
-ch suffixes:	-ouš -oušek -uška
-l suffixes:	-ula -el
-n suffixes:	-na -inka -izna
-g suffix:	-ha
other suffix:	-da

This list of suffixes does not give any information about degrees of diminutivity, relationship between suffixes, or the meaning of the suffixes.

A more recent study of the same problem by Neščimenko[1] attempts to consider diminutives with respect to derivational morphology. The title, which suggests a detailed morphological and semantical study, is misleading. A general introduction to word formation is followed by a superficial study of classification of diminutive suffixes. The suffixes are divided into two grades. The greatest disappointment in regard to the promising title is the division of suffixes into genders with no cross-reference among the individual allomorphs. As a morphological investigation of diminutives, the article does not contribute very much.

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[1] G. P. Neščimenko, "Zakonomernosti slovoobrazovanija, semantiki i upotreblenija suščestvitel'nyx s suffiksami sub"ektivnoj ocenki v sovremennom češskom jazyke, Issledovanija po češskomu jazyku, Moscow, Akademija nauk, 1963, p. 105.

A quantitative study of diminutives has been undertaken by L. Doležel.[1] The study is a frequency count of diminutive suffixes in Czech. This approach has not been taken by any previous researcher of the problem. The frequency of occurrence is, however, not directly related to my thesis.

The literature on diminutives in both languages concentrates on discussing diminutives in general. There are some attempts at classifying the suffixes, but there is a clear lack of systematic semantic or morphological approaches.

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[1] Lubomír Doležel, "Jména zdrobnělá," Tvoření slov v češtině, Praha, Československá akademie věd, 1967, pp. 494-530.

CHAPTER II

A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN RUSSIAN

The chief morphological means available for diminution in Russian is the suffix -#K, which very well exemplifies the general morphology of diminution. This suffix is a morpheme which may occur in more than one single phonemic shape. A single shape of a morpheme is a morph as in our case, -ok, -ëk, -ek or -k.[1] Morphs which are representations of the same morpheme are called allomorphs.

In addition to diminution, the morpheme -#K is used for other kinds of derivation in Russian. An example may be the usage of the suffix -ok when deriving a noun from a verb stem.

verb:[2]	noun:
igrát'	igrók
xodít'	xodók
katát'sja	katók
ostát'sja	ostátok

The above examples illustrate a shift from verbs to nouns, which is a shift of lexical classes. The same suffix may also be used for shifts within one lexical class.

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[1] Cf. G. Schaarschmidt, A Manual in Contrastive Linguistics: The Structure of Russian and English, Part I, Phonemics and Morphophonemics, University of Alberta, 1966, p. 56.

[2] Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo jazyka, p. 51.

noun:	noun:
éda	edók
klassifikácija	klassifikátor
publikácija	publikátor
organizácija	organizátor

Derivations formed with an intervening derivative suffix are from the same lexical class (input and output are nouns) and of the same gender. For example:

basic noun:	derived noun:
sbór	sbór-n-ik
kljúč	kljúč-n-ik
kúst	kust-ár-n-ik
čáj	čáj-n-ik

In general, however, the characteristic feature of diminution is the retention of the gender of the basic noun without including an intervening derivational suffix, as in the following examples:

sýn	syn-ók
durák	durač-ók
dólg	dolž-ók

From the previous examples and observations it is possible to see the morphological characteristics which apply to diminution.

1. diminution is a subclass of word formation;
2. diminution uses the same suffixes as other classes of word formation;
3. diminution preserves the gender of the underlying noun;
4. the suffixes used for diminution are always attached directly to the stem before any inflectional suffixes are added.

From a semantic point of view, derivation in general yields a specific kind of change in meaning.

The Russian diminutive suffixes may be either simple (first

degree) or compound (second degree). The former occur singly, while the latter occur in combination with some other diminutive suffix. The simple diminutive suffixes are represented here as -#K, -ik, -#C, and -ic. Arguments will now be presented for distinguishing these four morphemes in Russian in the simple diminutives.

1. The suffixes -#K and -ik.

The -#K diminutive suffix occurs as a simple suffix in the following shapes: -ok, -ёk and -ek in the masculine gender and -k in the feminine and neuter genders. As there seem to be three variants of the same suffix in the masculine gender, their distribution will have to be established. The suffix -ek does not occur stressed in diminutive derivation. The suffixes -ok and -ёk occur only stressed.

If the observations by Klagstadt are considered, an important criterion for assigning the suffixes -ok, -ёk to -ek is obtained.[1] Klagstadt gives a list of suffixes among which -ek, -ёk and -ok occur. All three of these suffixes participate in the phonemically conditioned vowel-zero alternation while the suffix -ik does not.[2] The conditioning factor for the alternation is stress. There are two types of stress:

1. no stress on vowel alternation with zero;
2. stress on vowel alternation with zero.

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[1] H. L. Klagstadt, Vowel-Zero Alternation in Contemporary Standard Russian, Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard, 1954.

[2] The vowel i does not take part in any vowel-zero alternation except in the numeral odin, odna.

Examples:

1. čelovéček, G. Sg. čelovéčka
   platóček, G. Sg. platóčka
   úlička, G. Pl. úliček
2. berežók, G. Sg. berežká
   cvetók, G. Sg. cvetká
   ugol'ëk, G. Sg. ugol'ká

The fact that the suffixes -ok, -ëk and -ik can be divided into two groups according to their different stress patterns serves as one basis for arguing that the suffixes -ik and -ek, -ëk, -ok represent two distinct morphemes. Popov states: "Obviously -ok, -ek are conditioned by stress . . . . they cannot both occur with the same basic form."[1]

Semantically the suffix -ik adds emotional colouring to the underlying noun. This nuance in the suffix is not represented as strongly in either -ek, -ëk or -ok. According to Dement'ev the suffix -ik has a fuller diminutive meaning which allows for the disregarding of second degree diminutives.[2] Popov[1] and Potixa[3] present similar arguments.

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[1] E. A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutives, p. 30.

[2] A. A. Dement'ev, "Umen'šitel'nye slova v russkom jazyke," Russkij jazyk v škole, Vol. 5, 1953, pp. 5-11.

[3] Z. A. Potixa, "Sovremennoe russkoe slovoobrazovanie," Prosveščenie, 1970, pp. 247-52.

Examples of -ik diminutives are as follows:[1]

basic form	diminutive form	usage in sentence or phrase
dóžd'	dóždik	Tëplyj doždik.
nóž	nóžik	Peročinnyj nožik.
nós	nósik	Čajnik s otbitym nosikom.
slón	slónik	Derevjannyj slonik.
topór	topórik	On postukival toporikom.
zájac	zájčik	Po stene i potolku zabegali zajčiki.
živót	živótik	Nadorvat' životik.

Diminutives formed with the suffixes -ok, -ëk and -ek also express a weaker diminutive meaning, as seen in the following examples:

býk	byčók	S byčkom u menja neladno, noga čisto puzyr' delalas', ne možet byčok idti.
cvét	cvetók	Cvetok zasoxšij, bezuxrannyj, zabytyj v knige.
čelovék	čelovéček	Potom javilsja čeloveček s gazetoj i sel na skamejku.
dólg	dolžók	Kniga-kartočnyj dolžok.
górod	gorodók	Provincial'nyj gorodok.
jazýk	jazyčók	U neë zloj jazyčok.
piróg	pirožók	Voz'mite ešče pirožka.
platók	platóček	Ne šmygaj nosikom, no dobud' platoček iz karmana.
sýn	synók	Synok požaluj.
uzel	uzelók	Knižki v uzelke.
úgol'	ugolëk	On vidit ugolëk.

Furthermore, the suffix -ik can occur only as a final member of a cluster of diminutive suffixes. This behaviour differentiates the suffix from the allomorphs of the -#K diminutive suffix.

The feminine and neuter genders have only two variants of the -#K diminutive suffix, namely, -k and -ek. According to Popov, diminutive forms are most frequent in the feminine gender.[2] When the allomorph -k

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[1]Here and elsewhere, the Russian examples are mostly modified from the examples of E. A. Popov.

[2]E. A. Popov, The Semantic Structure of the Russian Diminutive, p. 12.

precedes the gender marker -a the syllable is never stressed.

Examples of -k diminutives in feminine nouns are as follows:

dóč'	dóčka	Ona rodila dočku.
doróga	doróžka	Na polu kovrovye dorožki.
golová	golóvka	Golovka gvozdja.
kníga	knížka	Istrepannaja knižka.
lávka	lávočka	Ona prisela na lavočku.
ruká	rúčka	Detskaja ručka.
sumá	súmka	Pletënaja sumka dlja provizii.
trubá	trúbka	Dlinnaja trubka.
žíla	žílka	Krov' zaigrala po žilkam.

The -ek allomorph occurs in the G. Pl. of such nouns (e.g., dóček, doróžek, etc.).

In the neuter gender the suffix -#K appears before the gender marker -o, which is also unstressed in this circumstance, just as in the feminine examples. The number of morphemes which attach the suffix -k in the neuter gender is relatively small in comparison to the masculine and the feminine genders.

Examples of -k diminutives in the neuter nouns are as follows:

oknó	ókoško	Pod okoškom kogo-to ždala.
ózero	ozërko	Malen'koe ozërko.
úxo	úško	Šepnu vam na uško.

Again the -ek allomorph occurs in the G. Pl. forms.

2. The suffixes -#C and -ic.

The following shapes of diminutive suffixes based on -#C have been encountered: -ec in the masculine gender and -c in the feminine gender (before the desinance -a) and neuter gender (before the desinance -o or -e).

From the meaning of the suffixes one may say that -ec and -c belong to one morpheme; the different gender markers in the neuter gender are results of stress shifts.

Examples of -#C diminutive suffixes are as follows:

Masculine:

brát	brátec	Vreš' bratec.
lár'	lárec	Kovannyj larec.
naród	naródec	Sibirskie narodcy.
óbraz	obrazéc	Ukažite nam, otečestva otcy, kotorych my dolžny prinjat' za obrazcy.

Feminine:

dvér'	dvérca	Pečnye dverca.
lén'	lénca	Čelovek s lencoj.
sól'	sól'ca	Posyp sol'coj.

Neuter:

dérevo	derevcó	Derevco menjaet svoi listy s každoju vesnoju.
kolenó	kolénce	Vykinut' kolence.
kopýto	kopýtce	Kozlënok stal na kopytca.
ózero	ozercó	Travjanistye luga s množestvom nebol'šix lužinok, ozerec i ručejkov.

The suffix -ic had to be excluded from the above group. The structure of this morpheme can be compared to -ik in that both morphemes lack allomorphs which are used in all genders. There is also a difference in meaning between -#C diminutives and -ic diminutives similar to that between the -#K and -ik morphemes.

Examples of -ic diminutives are as follows:

Feminine:

část'	častíca	Mel'čajšaja častica pyli.
déva	devíca	On poljubil devicu iz rabyn'.
sestrá	sestríca	Moja sestrica Ljubočka.
kóža	kožíca	Kožica jabloka.
vodá	vodíca	Vypit' vodicy.

Neuter:

ímenie	ímen'ice	Ona priobrela nebol'šoe imen'ice.
pis'mó	pis'mecó	Sostav'te poxval'noe pis'meco.

plát'e	plát'ice	Na plat'ice čudesnye uzory.
stixotvorénie	stixotvorén'ice	Prelestnoe stixotvoren'ice.

In summary, the following suffixes occur in simple diminutives in Russian. As the same suffixes occur also as the final member of compound diminutives they will be referred to as terminal diminutive suffixes.

1. The morpheme -#K can occur as a terminal member with the following variants:

   -k occurs before a vowel;

   -ëk occurs under stress after stems ending in x or in a palatalized consonant (as indicated by a stem final j or ' in the non-diminutive form of the stem);[1]

   -ok occurs under stress after all other stems;

   -ek occurs elsewhere.

2. The morpheme -ik occurs in this one shape in the masculine and neuter genders only.

3. The morpheme -#C occurs as -c before a vowel and as -ec elsewhere.

4. The morpheme -ic occurs in this one shape in the feminine and neuter genders only.

It will be noted from the examples given in previous sections (pp. 18-20) that stems ending in velar consonants exhibit a morphophonemic alternation to the effect that g, k, x are replaced by ž, č, š (e.g., béreg-berežók, čelovék-čelovéček, úxo-úško).

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[1] Since before the allomorph -ëk a stem final j or ' (soft sign) disappears in the orthography (e.g., puzyr'-puzyrëk, ručej-ručeëk), the non-diminutive form of the stem must be examined to determine the status of the stem final consonant. Note also that stem final x changes to š before a diminutive suffix, as stated in the text above.

Examples:

stem:	first degree diminutive:
1. -#K:	
líp-a	lip-#K-a k lípka
zólot-o	zolot-#K-o k zólotko
podúx-a	podux-#K-a k podúška
lýk-o	lyk-#K-o k lýčko
dúb	dub-#K + stress ok - pal. dubók
piróg	pirog-#K + stress ok - pal. pirožók
ručéj	ručej-#K + stress ek + pal. ručeëk
ogón'	ogon'-#K + stress ek + pal. ogoněk
čelovek	čelovek-#K - stress ek + pal. čeloveček
2. -ik:	
škáf	škaf-ik škáfik
slovár'	slovar'-ik slovárik
plec-ó	plec-ik-o plečikó

3. -#C:

sól'

sol'-#C-a
c
sól'ca

ózer-o

ozer-#C-o
c
ozercó

brát

brat-#C
ec
brátec

óbraz

obraz-#C
ec
obrazéc

4. -ic:

část'

část'-ic-a
ic
částica

sestr-á

sestr-ic-a
ic
sestríca

The compound suffixes which occur in Russian most frequently are combinations of the aforementioned simple suffixes. Since we referred to simple diminutives as terminal suffixes, compound diminutives will be referred to as non-terminal suffixes. The simple suffix -#K is usually the basis for a compound suffix of the structure -#K-#K. The surface outcome is the following suffixes: -oček, -eček in the masculine gender and -očk, -ečk and -ečeк in the feminine and neuter genders.

Examples of -#K-#K diminutives are as follows:

Masculine:

béreg	berežóček	Stanovilsja že molodoj nevol'nik na kruten'kij berežoček.
dúb	dubóček	Zanočuem pod syrym dubom, dubočkom zelenym.

lëd	ledóček	Pesoček sypletsja a ledoček lomitsja.
nós	nosóček	I nosili molodye nosočki v polosku.
ogón'	ogonéček	Ogoneček voskryval.
syn	synóček	U neë odin synoček.

Feminine:

bába	bábočka	Stala tut babočka kričat'.
jáma	jámočka	Umil'nye jamočki propali na ščëkax.
kníga	knížečka	On pokopalsja v knižečke, razgladil straničku.
máma	mámočka	Milaja mamočka.
pápa	pápočka	Papočka, kak on tebja unizil.
skaméjka	skaméečka	Sela na skameečku.
trubá	trúbočka	Zakurit' svoju malen'kuju trubočku.

Neuter:

mésto	méstečko	Vybrali dlja otdyxa udobnoe mestečko.
oknó	okóšečko	Kassa s okošečkom.
plémja	plémečko	Ty, dvorjanskoe plemečko.
vrémja	vrémečko	Nu i vremečko bylo.

The meaning of compound suffixes is different from the meaning of the basic noun and is also different from the noun with a simple diminutive suffix attached.

Another possible combination of single suffixes which form a compound suffix -čik, which occurs in the masculine and (in one example only) in the neuter, is analyzed as a combination of the suffixes -#K and -ik. Examples of the -čik diminutives are as follows:

báran	baránčik	Malen'kij barančik.
pakét	pakétčik	Paketčik papiros.
stakán	stakánčik	Stakančik vody.
kolesó	koléščiko	Malen'koe koléščiko.

A noun which takes as a simple diminutive suffix an allomorph of -#C forms the compound suffix by adding an allomorph of the simple suffix -#K. The surface outcome of this combination of suffixes is identical with the surface outcome of -#K-#K. There should be a slight

difference in meaning between the two, however. The only example available occurs in the neuter gender: the compound diminutive slovéčko is derived from the simple diminutive slovcó, which contains the suffix -#C and not -#K.

The simple suffix -#K is also used for forming compound suffixes of nouns with their simple diminutives in -ic. Examples of -ic-#K diminutives are as follows:

čast'	častíčka	Každyj čas unosit častičku bytija.
kosá	kosíčka	Volosy eë byli zapleteny v kosičku.
sestrá	sestríčka	Lisička-sestrička.

In summary the following non-terminal suffixes occur in Russian:

1. The suffix -#K occurs as a non-terminal member in the following shapes:

   - č occurs before -ik

   -eč occurs after all stems ending in j or ' and if unstressed after velar stems (see example 1 on p. 24)

   -oč occurs elsewhere;

2. The suffix -#C occurs as -eč;

3. The suffix -ic occurs as -ič.

It should be remembered that -ik does not occur as a non-terminal suffix.

Examples:

	stem:	second degree diminutive:
1. -#K-ik		
	škáf	škaf-#K-ik č ik škáfčik
	slovár'	slovar'-#K-ik č ik slovárčik

2. -#K-#K

ogón'	ogon'-#K-#K eč ek ogonéček
kníg-a	knig-#k-#K-a eč k knížečka
lýk-o	lyk-#K-#K-o eč k o lýčečko
čelovék	čelovek-#K-#K eč ek čelovečeček
podúx-a	podux-#K-#K-a eč k podúšečka
líp-a	lip-#K-#K-a oč k lípočka
zólot-o	zolot-#K-#K-o oč k zolótočko
dúb	dub-#K-#K oč ek dubóček
piróg	pirog-#K-#K oč ek pirožóček

3. -#C-#K

slóv-o	slov-#C-#K-o eč k slovéčko

4. -ic-#K

část'	část'-ic-#Ka ič k částíčka
sestr-á	sestr-ic-#K-a ič k sestríčka

CHAPTER III

A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN CZECH

As in Russian the chief morphological means used for diminution in Czech is the suffix -#K. The suffix -#K occurs in all genders; it occurs in the following forms: -ek, -ík in the masculine gender and -k or -ek in the feminine and neuter genders.

1. The suffix -#K.

The allomorphs -ek and -ík and -k appear to be in complementary distribution. The conditioning for complementary distribution in the case of -ík and -ek is not as clear as in the case of the Russian allomorphs -ok, -ëk, -ek. However, since there are only very few exceptions to the statement of distribution of these two morphs, set out below, and since they have the same meaning as far as the degree of diminution is concerned, it would seem preferable to view them as allomorphs of the same morpheme.

As stress is fixed in Czech, it plays no role in the derivation of diminutive expressions. The vowel preceding the suffix seems to be important. If the vowel is a so-called fleeting vowel (present in a cluster of consonants in the nominative case of masculine nouns and missing in oblique cases) the noun attaches the diminutive suffix -ík.

Examples of -ík diminutives are as follows:

pytel (Gen. Sg. pytle)	pytlík
uhel	uhlík
uzel	uzlík
orel	orlík

ohen'	ohník
pes	psík
ret	rtík[1]

The last two nouns add the suffix -ík if the vowel which they contain is viewed as fleeting; if the vowel is permanent the nouns add the suffix -ek, and lengthen the stem vowel, but there is no apparent difference in meaning; e.g., ret, rtík, pes, psík versus retek, pejsek. This adds evidence to the validity of the above distribution statement.

The occurrence of -ík after consonant clusters in the above examples is paralleled by its occurrence after consonant clusters in nouns without the so-called fleeting vowel. These are always monosyllabic stems which have a final consonant cluster of resonants and obstruents in any sequence. Examples are as follows:

čert	čertík
kmotr	kmotřík
pudl	pudlík
vítr	větřík
žebř	žebřík

The suffix -ík is also used with monosyllabic stems which end in ň, š, ž, ť, and bisyllabic stems ending in j. Examples as follows:

kůň	koník
koš	košík
nůž	nožík
pokoj	pokojík

There are two exceptions to the above rule. The noun stupeň is not monosyllabic, but its diminutive suffix is ík or -ek; the same is true for the noun kříž, where the forms křížek, křížík are in free variation.

Masculine nouns which have on the surface feminine endings also take the diminutive suffix -ík. The same is true for masculine nouns which are formed with the derivative suffix ář or ař. Examples are as follows:

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[1] Examples are based on my own knowledge as a native speaker of Czech.

táta	tatík
kalendář	kalendářík
stolař	stolařík
vladař	vladařík
sadař	sadařík

The above rules would account for all occurrences of the suffix -ík in the data, except for chlapík, lesík, nosík, hošík. These are exceptions. The noun chlap has two possible diminutives chlápek or chlapík. These are semantically different. There could be a rule for the rest of the exceptions, but it would be very artificial.

The diminutive suffix -ek is attached to all nouns not mentioned previously. There are three exceptions: les, nos, hoch. Examples of -ek diminutives:

míč (Gen. Sg. micku)	míček
papír	papírek
pruh	proužek
pavouk	pavouček
obchod	obchůdek
kartáč	kartáček
kočár	kočárek

The above examples exhibit vowel lengthening or changes in the vowel quality. Normally, the vowel preceding the suffix changes if originally short, e.g., obchod obchůdek, list lístek, etc.

Examples of -#K diminutives in masculine nouns are as follows:

beran	beránek	Na louce se pásl beránek.
děd	dědek	Dědek se belhal ke škole.
dům	domek	Domek stál na kopci.
hoch	hošík	Hošík se usmíval.
hrách	hrášek	Na zahradě roste hrášek.
kartáč	kartáček	Kartáček na zuby byl nepoužit.
klíč	klíček	Ivaně se klíček líbil.
sníh	snížek	Napadal čerstvý snížek.
svetr	svetřík	Svetřík ležel na stole.
osel	oslík	Oslík několikrát zahýkal.
pás	pásek	Pásek ležel na židli.
pokoj	pokojík	Pokojík byl velmi útulný.
šplhoun	šplhounek	Martínek je šplhounek.
talíř	talířek	Talířek stojí na polici.
verš	veršík	Veršík byl velice dobře přednesen.
vzor	vzorek	Vzorek leží před ní.

In the feminine gender the most common allomorph of the -#K diminutive suffix is -k, which precedes the gender marker in the nominative case. As in Russian, the allomorph -ek occurs in the Gen. Pl. of feminine and neuter nouns (e.g., babek, dírek, klubek, etc.). Examples of -#K diminutives in feminine nouns are as follows:

bába	babka	Babka běžela do kostela.
díra	dírka	Dírka byla vyspravená.
figura	figurka	Figurka Ivana vyvolávala smích.
kniha	knížka	Knížka leží na stole.
květina	květinka	Květinka je uvadlá.
mouka	moučka	Bramborová moučka se zřídka používá.
nádoba	nádobka	Nádobka na mýdlo.
ovce	ovečka	Ovečka se pásla.
povinnost	povinnůstka	Nepříjemná povinnůstka.
strana	stránka	Stránka byla založena.
žába	žábka	Žábka skáče z kamene na kámen.

Examples of -#K diminutives in neuter nouns are as follows:

dláto	dlátko	Dlátko leželo na lavici.
jádro	jadérko	Jadérko vypadlo z jablka na podlahu.
klubko	klubíčko	Klubíčko vlny dráždilo kočičku.
líce	líčko	Její líčko bylo zrudlé hněvem.
mléko	mlíčko	Napij se mlíčka.
písmeno	písmenko	Věříš všemu do posledního písmenka.
zrno	zrnko	Nikde nebylo ani zrnka prachu.

There are fewer examples available in the neuter gender than in the masculine and feminine. The suffix is attached in the same manner as in the feminine gender. The meanings of the allomorphs of the -#K diminutive suffix seem to correspond.

2. The suffix -#C.

The diminutive suffix -ic occurs in the feminine gender only. Masculine nouns take either the -ec or the -c suffix, depending on the phonological environment: the allomorph -ec occurring in final position and -c before a vowel (as in the oblique cases). As this is a matter of

the distribution of the suffixes and there is no evident difference in meaning, the three suffixes -ic, -ec and -c are analyzed as allomorphs of the morpheme -#C. This morpheme is not used with neuter nouns.

Examples of -#C diminutives in masculine nouns are as follows:

prapor	praporec	(Gen. pl. praporce)	Praporec vlál ve větru.
rám	rámec		V rámci našich možností.
vál	válec		Parní válec připravoval povrch pro silnici.
zvon	zvonec		Zvonec kláštera vyzváněl.

Examples of -#C diminutives in feminine nouns are as follows:

hvězda	hvězdice	Uprostřed stadionu byla vytvořena cvičícími hvězdice.
konev	konvice	Konvice byla plná vody.
růže	růžice	Větrna růžice se točila po větru.

In summary the following suffixes occur in first degree diminutives in Czech:

1. The morpheme -#K can occur as a terminal member with the following variants:

   -ík occurs after any of the following:
   - -the derivative suffix -ař/-ář
   - -monosyllabic stems ending in the palatal consonants ň, š, ž, ť
   - -bisyllabic stems ending in j
   - -clusters of resonants and obstruents in any sequence
   - -stems which exhibit the fleeting vowel
   - -masculine nouns with feminine endings;

   -k occurs elsewhere before a vowel;

   -ek occurs elsewhere.

   Exceptions: nos, les, hoch.

   Free variation: stupeň, kříž, chlap.

2. The morpheme -#C can occur as a terminal member in the following shapes:

   -ic occurs with feminine nouns;

   -ec occurs in final position with masculine nouns;

   -c occurs elsewhere.

From previous examples it will be noted that stems ending in velar consonants exhibit a morphophonemic alternation as was the case in Russian.

Examples:

	stem	first degree diminutive
1.	-#K:	
	báb-a	báb-#K-a k babka
	dlát-o	dlát-#K-o k dlátko
	mouk-a	mouk-#K-a k moučka
	knih-a	knih-#K-a k knížka
	mlék-o	mlék-#K-o k mléčko
	kalendář	kalendář-#K ík kalendářík
	les	les-#K ík lesík
	hoch	hoch-#K ík hošík
	kůn'	kůn-#K ík koník
	koš	koš-#k ík košík

núž	nůž-#K ík nožík
déšť	dešť-#K ík deštík
čert	čert-#K ík čertík
kmotr	kmotr-#K ík kmotřík
pavouk	pavouk-#K ek pavouček
rám	ram-#K rámek

2. -#C:

hvězd-a	hvězd-#C-a ic hvězdice
rám	rám-#C ec rámec

The compound diminutive suffixes are combinations of simple diminutive suffixes. The following forms of compound suffixes occur in Czech: -eček, íček in the masculine gender; ečka, ička in the feminine; and ečko, íčko in the neuter gender.

Masculine nouns form the non-terminal suffix from the -#K diminutive; the surface form of -#K (non-terminal) is -íč or -eč. The distribution is the same as in the case of the terminal suffix in the masculine gender.

Examples of -#K-#K diminutives in the masculine gender are as follows:

anděl	andíleček	Z kostelního stropu se dívalo mnoho andílečků.
dům	domeček	Domeček stál na stráni.
kalendář	kalendáříček	Kalendáříček visel příliš vysoko.
košík	košíček	Košíček na ovoce stál v koutě.
list	lísteček	Lístečky padaly ze stromu.
rám	rámeček	Rámeček na obraz byl zakoupen.
vítr	větříček	Foukal příjemný větříček.
uzel	uzlíček	Šel s uzlíčkem přes rameno.
žebř	žebříček	Žebříček stál u zdi.

Masculine nouns also form the non-terminal suffix from the -#C diminutive. The results of the -#C-#K and -#K-#K strings are identical. An example of -#C-#K diminutives in the masculine gender is as follows:

hrad	hradeček	Hradeček je malý.

Feminine nouns, which have the second degree diminutive -ička can have the non-terminal part of this suffix based on the diminutive suffix -#C; this would explain the length of the suffix. Other feminine nouns have the surface occurrence of -ečka, which can be seen as based on the -#K diminutive suffix.

Examples of -#C-#K diminutives in the feminine gender:

bába	babička	Babička koupala vnoučátko.
cesta	cestička	Cestička byla vyšlapaná.
kráva	kravička	Kravička se pásla.
lampa	lampička	Lampička stála na stolku.
perla	perlička	Na čele mu stály perličky potu.
tvář	tvářička	Svítily se mu tvářičky.
žába	žabička	Žabička skákala z kamene na kámen.

Examples of -#K-#K diminutive suffixes in the feminine gender are as follows:

kniha	knížečka	Knížečka ležela na stole.
část	částečka	Částečka prachu.
chvíle	chvilečka	Chvilečka štěstí.
figura	figurečka	Na rámu je figurečka.

In the neuter gender the combination of -#K-#K can occur, as we had no occurrence of the simple diminutive suffix -#C. The distribution

of the allomorphs -eč and -íč which occurred in the masculine gender does not seem to apply. There are however only two nouns which can take -ičko only (autíčko, očíčko). All other neuter nouns take the -eč allomorph and alternately -íč, in free variation.

Examples of -#K-#K diminutive suffixes in the neuter gender are as follows:

auto	autíčko	Iványek si hrál s autíčkem.
jezero	jezírečko	Jezírečko leželo v úžlabince.
místo	místečko	Nikde nebylo ani místečka.
okno	okénečko	Okénečko bylo otevřené.
zrno	zrnéčko	Zrnéčko pravdy.

In summary, the following non-terminal suffixes occur in Czech:

1. The suffix -#K occurs as a non-terminal member in the following shapes:

   -íč in the masculine gender in the environment in which the suffix -ík occurred;

   -íč in the neuter gender in the forms autíčko, očíčko;

   -eč occurs elsewhere.

2. The suffix -#C occurs in the following variants:

   -ič in the feminine gender;

   -eč in the masculine gender.

The surface outcome of the non-terminal diminutive suffix -#K and -#C in the masculine gender is identical; the sequence -eček is ambiguous as far as its origin is concerned. As in the few examples no lengthening occurs it can be used as evidence that these forms (hradeček, koneček) are secondary diminutives.

Examples:

stem	second degree diminutive
1. -#K-#K	
vítr	vítr-#K-#K íč ek větříček
uhel	uhel-#K-#K íč ek uhlíček
ohen'	ohen'-#K-#K íč ek ohníček
pokoj	pokoj-#K-#K íč ek pokojíček
táta	tata-#K-#K íč ek tatíček
truhlář	truhlář-#K-#K íč ek truhlaříček
rám	rám-#K-#K eč ek rámeček
stůl	stůl-#K-#K eč ek stoleček
knih-a	knih-#K-#K-a eč k knížečka
figur-a	figur-#K-#K-a eč k figurečka
míst-o	míst-#K-#K-o eč k místečko
měst-o	měst-#K-#K-o eč k městečko

2. -#C-#K

hvězd-a

hvězd-#C-#K-a
ič k
hvězdička

konev

konv-#C-#K-a
ic k
konvička

hlav-a

hlav-#C-#K-a
ič k
hlavička

hrad

hrad-#C-#K
eč ek
hradeček

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION: A COMPARISON OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH

In comparing Russian and Czech in the variety of allomorphs and morphemes of the -K and -C group, it will be advantageous to make a line-by-line comparison of them.

A. Terminal suffixes:

The following table of occurring terminal suffixes can be constructed:

Russian				Czech			
Morpheme	m	f	n	Morpheme	m	f	n
-#K	-ek -ok -ek	-k	-k	-#K	-ek -ík	-k	-k
oblique cases:	-k	-ek	-ek	oblique cases:	-k	-ek	-ek
-ik	-ik	--	-ik				
-#C	-ec	-c	-c	-#C	-ec	-ic	--
oblique cases:	-c	-ec	-ec	oblique cases:	-c	-ic	--
-ic	--	-ic	-ic				

The overall impression from the table is the greater simplicity of the scheme in Czech than in Russian. In Czech the number of occurring morphemes is two as compared to four in Russian. The number of possible allomorphs is five in Czech as compared with eight in Russian. In general this variety of allomorphs in Russian is caused by the differentiation of palatalized vs. non-palatalized consonants as well as the

stress variations. Both of these factors are not present in Standard Contemporary Czech.

1. The suffix -#K.

If the -#K diminutive suffixes are compared it is evident that there is a greater number of allomorphs available in the masculine gender of Russian nouns. Each one of the allomorphs occurs in a different environment (-ok after non-palatal consonants and under stress, -ëk after palatals under stress and -ek elsewhere). The degree of diminutivity expressed by these three variants is the same; berežók, goróšek, ogoněk all have different allomorphs of the -#K diminutive suffix but the meaning of "smallness" or "dearness" is expressed in approximately the same degree in all three nouns.

The morpheme -#K has two allomorphs in Czech in the masculine gender, viz., -ek and -ík. The distribution of these two allomorphs is different from the one in Russian. Unlike in Russian, where the shape of the occurring allomorph is determined by a combination of stress and the nature of the stem final consonant, the distribution of -ek and -ík depends upon the nature of the stem final consonant or consonants. As in Russian, there is no apparent difference in the meaning of these allomorphs.

The -#K allomorph for the neuter and feminine genders have only one variant in the nominative case in both Russian and Czech, viz., -k. In the Genitive Pl., where no case ending follows the allomorph, -ek is used in both languages. The distribution of these allomorphs is the same in Russian and Czech.

2. The suffix -ik.

The Russian diminutive suffix -ik does not have a correspondence among the suffixes occuring in Czech. As this suffix is more intense in the meaning of diminutivity than the suffix -#K, a correspondence might be established between the Russian -ik and the compound suffix -#K-#K occurring in Czech. Consider the following examples: Russ. gvózdik, Cz. hřebíček; Russ. dómik, Cz. domeček; Russ. pakétik, Cz. balíček.

In his research on diminutives in Czech, Neščimenko[1] claims that second degree diminutives are the most stable members of the derivation. This stability of second degree diminutives in Czech and the intensity of -ik diminutives in Russian are comparable.

3. The -#C suffix, the -ic suffix.

Among the other diminutive suffixes there is, as can be seen from the table, more complexity in Russian. There are two morphemes, -#C and -ic, present in Russian, and these have three separate allomorphs. There is a difference in meaning between the morphemes -#C and -ic. Within the morpheme -#C similar rules for the distribution of allomorphs apply as in the case of -#K, but the number of possible allomorphs in the masculine gender is limited to one. The Russian morpheme -ic does not occur in the masculine gender.

In Czech the allomorphs -ec and -ic can be grouped together as being in complementary distribution because there is no instance of

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[1] Neščimenko, "Deminutivnye, derivacionnye cepočki v češskom jazyke," Voprosy jazykoznanija, 1970, Vol. 6, pp. 46-59.

overlap. The meaning of the two suffixes is identical. Furthermore, these suffixes are no longer productive in Czech.

B. Non-terminal suffixes:

A similar comparison can be drawn between the non-terminal suffixes of Russian and Czech:

Russian				Czech			
Morpheme	m	f	n	Morpheme	m	f	n
-#K	-eč -oč -č	-eč -oč	-eč -oč	-#K	-eč -ič	-eč --	-eč -ič
-#C	-eč	--	--	-#C	-eč	-ič	--
-ic	--	-ic	-ic				

In Russian there are more possibilities of allomorphs occurring in the non-terminal suffix. The allomorphs of -#K are in complementary distribution; i.e., -č occurs before -ik; -eč occurs after palatals and -oč occurs elsewhere.

The allomorphs of the morpheme -#C and -#K are identical in the masculine gender in Czech. The difference in length in the allomorph -ik in the feminine gender as compared to the allomorph -ík in the masculine gender causes the distinction between the two non-terminal morphemes.

C. Compound suffixes:

The combinations of non-terminal and terminal suffixes which occur in Russian and Czech can be tabulated as follows:

Russian				Czech			
Morphemes	m	f	n	Morphemes	m	f	n
-#K-#K	-oček -ečeк	-očka -ečka	-očko -ečko	-#K-#K	-eček -íček	-ečka	-ečko -íčko
-#K-ik	-čik	--	-čiko	--			
-#C-#K	--	--	-ečko	-#C-#K	-eček	-ička	--
-ic-#K	--	-ička	--				

The above table is a natural correlate of the previously given tables on pages 38 and 41. The contrasts between the Russian and Czech systems have been mentioned with the appropriate tables. On the whole, the model of Czech diminutives is a simpler system as opposed to the Russian model. The number of morphemes in the diminutive suffixes in terminal position has been reduced from four in Russian to two in Czech; in non-terminal position, there are three morphemes in Russian in comparison to two in Czech. The non-terminal distribution of morphemes applies to compound suffixes.

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APPENDIX

I. RUSSIAN DATA

1:1 #k diminutive suffixes

1:2 Masculine gender

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss*
béreg	berežók	berežóček	bank
bóg	božók	-	god
býk	byčók	-	bull
cár	carék	-	czar
cvét	cvetók	cvetóček	flower
čéln	čelnók	-	boat
-	čulók	čulóček	stocking
dén	denék	denéček	day
dólg	dolžók	-	debt
dóm	domók	-	house
drúg	družók	-	friend
dúb	dubók	-	oak
durák	duračók	-	fool
gláz	glazók	-	eye
gólub'	golubók	-	pigeon

*Only base forms are translated into English, as there are no exact equivalents of expressive derivatives.

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
górod	gorodók	-	town
goróx	gorôšek	-	pea
gréx	grešók	-	sin
gríb	gribók	-	mushroom
jazýk	jazyčók	-	tongue
krúg	kružók	-	circle
kulák	kulačók	-	fist
kúst	kustók	kustóček	bush
kumán	kumanék	-	friend
lëd	ledók	ledóček	ice
lés	lesók	lesóček	forest
líst	listók	-	leaf
loskút	loskutók	loskutóček	rag
lúg	lužók	lužóček	meadow
mólot	molotók	-	hammer
nógot'	nogotók	-	fingernail
nós	nosók	-	nose
óbraz	obrazók	-	picture
ogón	ogonék	ogonéček	fire
órden	ordenók	-	order
oréx	orêšek	-	nut
óstrov	ostrovók	-	island
páren'	parenék	-	fellow
petúx	petušók	-	cock

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
piróg	pirožók	-	tart
-	platók	platóček	scarf
pórox	porošók	-	dust
puzýr'	puzyrék	-	bubble
róg	rožók	-	corner
rót	rotók	-	lip
ručej	ručéek	-	tributary
sapóg	sapožók	-	slipper
starík	staričók	-	old man
stíx	stišók	-	poem
svíst	svistók	-	whistle
sundúk	sunducók	-	box
sýn	synók	synóček	son
šág	šažók	-	step
tabún	tabunók	-	head
úgol	ugolók	-	corner
úgol'	úgolek	-	coal
uzél	uzelók	-	bundle
vólos	volosók	-	hair
zúb	zubók	-	tooth
zvón	zvonók	zvonóček	bell
ženíx	ženišók	-	groom

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
1:3 Feminine gender			
bába	bábka	bábočka	old woman
bednijága	bednjážka	-	poor fellow
beséda	besédka	-	conversation
blóxa	blóška	-	flea
blúza	blúzka	-	blouse
borodá	boródka	-	beard
bumága	bumážka	-	paper
čáša	čáška	čášečka	cup
déva	dévka	dévočka	girl
djádja	djád'ka	-	uncle
doróga	doróžka	-	way
doč'	dóčka	-	daughter
dugá	dúžka	-	arch
dýra	dýrka	-	hole
el'	ëlka	ëločka	fir tree
figúra	figúrka	-	figure
golová	golóvka	-	head
góra	górka	-	hill
gorst'	górstka	górstočka	handful
grúppa	grúppka	-	group
istórija	istórijka	-	story
jáblonja	jáblon'ka	-	apple tree
jáma	jámka	jámočka	pit

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kárta	-	kártočka	card
kníga	knížka	knížečka	book
kartína	kartínka	kartínočka	picture
kómnata	kómnatka	-	room
koróna	korónka	-	crown
koróva	korówka	-	cow
korzína	korzínka	-	basket
kóška	kóšečka	-	cat
krówat'	krovátka	-	bed
krýša	krýška	krýšečka	roof
kvartíra	kvartírka	-	flat
lávka	lávočka	-	store
lénta	-	léntočka	ribbon
lípa	lípka	lípočka	lime tree
-	lódka	lódočka	boat
lóšad'	lošádka	-	horse
-	lóžka	lóžečka	spoon
lysína	lysínka	-	bald spot
minúta	minútka	-	minute
mogíla	mogílka	-	grave
morščína	morščínka	-	wrinkle
nit'	nítka	-	thread
nóga	nóžka	-	leg
ovcá	ovéčka	-	sheep

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
pálka	páločka	-	cane
pelerína	pelerínka	-	pelerine
pésnja	pésenka	-	song
podkóva	podkóvka	-	horse shoe
poljána	poljánka	-	clearing
pólka	póločka	-	shelf
podúxa	podúška	podúšečka	pillow
pružína	pružínka	-	spring
ptíca	ptíčka	-	bird
rabóta	rabótka	-	work
rámka	rámočka	-	frame
reká	réčka	-	river
rubáxa	rubáška	rubášečka	shirt
ruká	rúčka	-	hand
rýba	rýbka	-	fish
set'	sétka	-	net
skobá	skóbka	-	staple
sobáka	sobáčka	-	dog
straníca	straníčka	-	page
súma	súmka	súmočka	bag
šéja	šéjka	-	neck
šljápa	šljápka	-	hat
ščeká	ščéčka	-	cheek
-	ščëtka	ščëtocka	brush

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
šúba	šúbka	-	overcoat
tetrád'	tetrádka	-	notebook
tëtja	tëtka	-	aunt
travá	trávka	-	grass
trúba	trúbka	trúbočka	horn
úlica	úlička	-	street
-	verëvka	verëvočka	rope
žená	žénka	-	wife
žérd'	-	žérdočka	pole
žíla	žílka	-	vein
1:4 Neuter gender			
jábloko	jábločko	-	apple
lýko	lýčko	-	bast
óblako	óblačko	-	cloud
oknó	okóško	okóšečko	window
ózero	ozérko	-	lake
úxo	úško	-	ear
zóloto	zólotko	-	gold
1:4 -ik suffixes			
1:5 -ik in the masculine gender			
avtomobíl'	-	avtomobíl'čik	car
barán	-	baránčik	ram
bukét	bukétik	-	bunch

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
cvét	cvétik	-	flower
čás	čásik	-	hour, time
dóm	dómik	-	house
dožd'	dóždik	dóždiček	rain
fonár	fonárik	-	lantern
gvozd'	gvózdik	-	nail
kalendár	kalendárik	-	calendar
komár	komárik	-	mosquito
kot	kótik	-	cat
kovér	kóvrik	-	carpet
krest	kréstik	-	cross
kust	kústik	-	bush
mjač	mjáčik	-	game
most	móstik	-	bridge
nos	nósik	-	nose
nož	nóžik	-	knife
pakét	pakétik	pakétčik	parcel
pálec	pál'čik	-	thumb
rot	rótik	-	lip
raz	rázik	-	one time
sad	sádik	-	orchard
slon	slónik	-	elephant
slovár'	slovárik	-	dictionary
stakán	-	stakáničik	glass

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
stul	stúlik	–	chair
šar	šárik	–	ball
škaf	škáfik	škafčik	cupboard
topór	topórik	–	axe
vint	víntik	–	screw
zub	zúbik	–	tooth

1:6 -ik in the neuter gender

licó	líčiko	–	face
plečó	pléčiko	–	shoulder
kolesó	kolésiko	–	wheel

1:7 #C diminutive suffixes

1:8 Masculine gender

brat	brátec	–	brother
moróz	morózec	–	frost
óbraz	obrazéc	–	figure
xleb	xlébec	–	bread

1:9 Feminine gender

dver'	dvér'ca	–	door
sol'	sól'ca	–	salt

1:10 Neuter gender

dérevo	dérevce	–	wood
kolenó	kolénce	–	knee

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kopýto	kopýtce	-	hoof
ózero	ozercó	-	lake
polenó	polénce	-	log
sálo	sál'ce	-	fat
télo	tél'ce	-	body

1:11 -ic suffixes

1:12 -ic in the feminine gender

část'	částica	částička	part
déva	devíca	-	girl
sestrá	sestríca	sestríčka	sister
vodá	vodíca	-	water
kníga	knižíca	-	book
metél'	metélica	-	storm

1:13 -ic in the neuter gender

máslo	máslice	-	butter
pis'mó	pis'mecó	-	letter
plát'e	plátice	-	dress
sobránie	sobránice	-	meeting
zdánie	zdánice	-	building

II. CZECH DATA

2:1 #K diminutive suffixes

2:2 Masculine gender

anděl	andílek	andílečeк	angel

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
-	balík	balíček	parcel
beran	beránek	beráneček	ram
brouk	brouček	-	beetle
čert	čertík	čertíček	devil
člověk	človíček	-	man
člun	člunek	čluneček	boat
děd	dědek	dědeček	grandfather
déšt'	deštík	deštíček	rain
dům	domek	domeček	house
dub	doubek	doubeček	oak
dráp	drápek	drápeček	claw
drob	drobek	drobeček	crumb
hák	háček	-	hook
holub	holoubek	holoubeček	pigeon
hoch	hošík	hošíček	boy
hrách	hrášek	-	pea
hřib	hříbek	hříbeček	mushroom
chlap	chlapík	chlapíček	man
chlév	chlívek	chlíveček	stall
chlup	chloupek	chloupeček	hair
chudák	chudáček	-	poor fellow
jazyk	jazýček	-	tongue

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kalendář	kalendářík	kalendáříček	calendar
kalich	kalíšek	-	glass
kámen	kamének	kaméneček	stone
kartáč	kartáček	-	brush
klíč	klíček	-	key
klobouk	klobouček	-	hat
kluk	klouček	-	boy
kmotr	kmotřík	kmotříček	godfather
-	knedlík	knedlíček	dumpling
kocour	kocourek	-	cat
kočár	kočárek	-	cart
kohout	kohoutek	-	cock
koláč	koláček	-	cake
kruh	kroužek	-	circle
kůň	koník	koníček	horse
koš	košík	košíček	basket
kožich	kožíšek	-	fur
krajíc	krajíček	-	slice
krk	krček	-	neck
krok	kroček	-	step
kříž	křížek	křížeček	cross

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
květ	kvítek	kvíteček	flower
les	lesík	lesíček	forest
leták	letáček	-	brochure
letohrad	letohrádek	letohrádeček	summer palace
list	lístek	lísteček	leaf
lupen	lupínek	lupíneček	leaf
míč	míček	-	ball
mlýn	mlýnek	mlýneček	mill
mozek	mozeček	-	brain
mrzák	mrzáček	-	cripple
most	můstek	můsteček	bridge
nos	nosík	nosíček	nose
napínák	napínáček	-	tack
nůž	nožík	nožíček	knife
obchod	obchůdek	obchůdeček	store
oblak	obláček	-	cloud
oblouk	oblouček	-	arch
obraz	obrázek	obrázeček	picture
oheň	ohník	ohníček	fire
ořech	oříšek	-	nut
ostrov	ostrůvek	ostrůveček	island
orel	orlík	orlíček	eagle

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
palouk	palouček	-	clearning
panák	panáček	-	figure
papír	papírek	papíreček	paper
paroh	paroužek	-	horn
pás	pásek	páseček	belt
park	parčík	-	park
pavouk	pavouček	-	spider
pazour	pazourek	pazoureček	claw
pes	psík	psíček	dog
plamen	plamínek	plamíneček	flame
pokoj	pokojík	pokojíček	room
potok	potůček	-	stream
pramen	pramínek	pramíneček	source
prach	prášek	-	dust
pruh	proužek	-	strip
provaz	provázek	provázeček	string
pták	ptáček	-	bird
pudl	pudlík	pudlíček	poodle
puchýř	puchýřek	-	blister
-	puntík	puntíček	dot
pupen	pupínek	pupíneček	bud
pytel	pytlík	pytlíček	sack
rám	rámek	rámeček	frame
řetěz	řetízek	řetízeček	chain

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
strom	stromek	stromeček	tree
strýc	strýček	-	uncle
střevíc	střevíček	-	shoe
střep	střípek	střípeček	splinter
stupen'	stupínek	stupíneček	step
svaz	svazek	svazeček	bundle
syn	synek	syneček	son
šat	šátek	šáteček	cloth
-	špalík	špalíček	log
šroub	šroubek	šroubeček	screw
sešit	sešitek	sešiteček	note book
schod	schůdek	schůdeček	step
sklep	sklípek	sklípeček	cellar
skřivan	skřivánek	skřiváneček	lark
slavík	slavíček	-	nightingale
slinták	slintáček	-	bib
sud	soudek	soudeček	barrel
tác	tácek	-	tray
talíř	talířek	talířeček	plate
táta	tatík	tatíček	father
ubožák	ubožáček	-	poor fellow
ubrus	ubrousek	ubrouseček	cloth
uhel	uhlík	uhlíček	coal
uzel	uzlík	uzlíček	bundle

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
vak	váček	-	sack
válec	váleček	-	roller
večer	večírek	-	evening
vítr	větřík	větříček	wind
vlas	vlásek	vláseček	hair
vlk	vlček	-	wolf
vrták	vrtáček	-	drill
vzduch	vzdoušek	-	air
vzor	vzorek	vzoreček	pattern
-	zadek	zadeček	hind part
záhon	záhonek	záhoneček	bed
zajíc	zajíček	-	hare
zámek	zámeček	-	lock
zvon	zvonek	zvoneček	bell
zub	zoubek	zoubeček	tooth
žebř	žebřík	žebříček	ladder
žlab	žlábek	žlábeček	groove

2:3 Feminine gender

bába	babka	babička	grandmother
beseda	besídka	besídečka	talk
blána	blanka	blanička	membrane
blecha	bleska	-	flea
blůza	blůzka	bluzička	blouse

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
bota	botka	botička	shoe
brada	bradka	bradička	chin
bouda	budka	boudička	hut
bylina	bylinka	bylinečka	herb
cesta		cestička	way
část	částka	částečka	particle
dcera	dcerka	dcerečka	daughter
deka	dečka	-	cover
deska	-	deštička	board
díra	dírka	dírečka	hole
figura	figurka	figurečka	figure
halena	halenka	halenečka	blouse
hlava	hlávka	hlavička	head
hodina	hodinka	hodinečka	hour
hrst	hrstka	hrstečka	handful
hrouda	hrudka	hroudečka	clod
chvíle	chvilka	chvilečka	moment
jablon'	jablon'ka	-	apple tree
jáma	jamka	jamička	pit
jedle	-	jedlička	fir tree
karta	kartka	kartička	card
klec	klícka	-	cage
kniha	knížka	knížečka	book
kobliha	kobližka	-	cake

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
kobyla	kobylka	kobylečka	mare
-	kočka	kočička	cat
komora	komůrka	komůrečka	room
korouhev	-	korouhvička	banner
koruna	korunka	korunečka	crown
košile	košilka	košilečka	shirt
kůže	kožka	kůžička	skin
kráva	kravka	kravička	cow
kudrlina	kudrlinka	-	wave
kytice	kytička	-	flowers
láhev	-	lahvička	bottle
lampa	-	lampička	lamp
lan'	lan'ka	-	doe
lat'	lat'ka	-	lath
lavice	lavička	-	bench
lednice	lednička	-	fridge
lípa	lipka	lípečka	lime tree
lod'	lod'ka	lodička	boat
lopata	lopatka	lopatečka	shovel
louka	loučka	-	meadow
louže	-	loužička	puddle
lysina	lysinka	lysinečka	bald spot
lžíce	lžička	-	spoon
máma	mamka	maminka	mother

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
motyka	motyčka	-	hoe
mouka	moučka	-	flour
mříž	mřížka	-	bar
nádoba	nádobka	nádobička	container
nádrž	nádržka	-	reservoir
nit'	nitka	-	thread
obruč	obroučka	-	band
opice	opička	-	ape
otep	otýpka	-	bundle
ovce	ovečka	-	sheep
ledvina	ledvinka	-	kidney
police	polička	-	shelf
pavučina	pavučinka	-	cobweb
pentle	-	pentlička	ribbon
perla	-	perlička	pearl
pila	pilka	pilečka	saw
píštala	píštalka	píštalička	whistle
plena	plenka	plenička	dipper
podkova	podkůvka	podkůvečka	horse shoe
poklice	poklička	-	cover
postava	-	postavička	figure
postel	postýlka	-	bed
přihrada	přihrádka	přihrádečka	compartment
pumpa	-	pumpička	pump

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
punčocha	punčoška	-	stocking
putna	putýnka	putýnečka	kit
roura	rourka	rourečka	pipe
ruka	ručka	ručička	hand
růže	-	růžička	rose
ryba	rybka	rybička	fish
řeka	říčka	-	river
sestra	-	sestřička	sister
síť	síť'ka	-	net
skála	skalka	skalička	rock
sklenice	sklenička	-	glass
skříň	skříň'ka	-	cupboard
skulina	skulinka	-	slot
skupina	skupinka	-	group
slabost	slabůstka	-	weakness
slza	-	slzička	tear
stuha	stužka	stužtička	ribbon
světnice	světnička	-	room
sýkora	sýkorka	-	tit
šablona	šablonka	-	pattern
šňůra	šňůrka	šňůrečka	lace
taška	taštička	-	bag
teta	tetka	tetička	aunt
tráva	travka	travička	grass

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
trouba	trubka	trubička	pipe
tvář	-	tvářička	face
tyč	tyčka	-	stick
ulice	ulička	-	street
věž	vížka	věžička	tower
vidlice	vidlička	-	fork
výbava	-	výbavička	equipment
záclona	záclonka	záclonečka	curtain
zahrada	zahrádka	zahrádečka	garden
zástěra	zástěrka	-	apron
závora	závorka	závorečka	bracket
zpráva	-	zprávička	news
žába	žabka	žabička	frog
židle	-	židlička	chair
žíla	žilka	žilečka	vain
žena	žínka	-	wife
žláza	žlázka	žlázička	gland

2:4 Neuter nouns

auto	-	autíčko	car
bidlo	bidélko	-	crossbar
dílo	dílko	dílečko	work
dláto	dlátko	dlátečko	chisel
hrdlo	hrdélko	-	throat
jádro	jadérko	jadérečko	core

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
jezero	jezírko	jezírečko	lake
kladivo	kladívko	kladívečko	hammer
klubko	klubíčko	-	ball of wool
kolo	-	kolečko	wheel
koleno	kolínko	kolínečko	knee
kopyto	kopýtko	kopytečko	hoof
lano	lanko	lanečko	rope
líce	líčko	-	face
město	-	městečko	town
místo	-	místečko	place
oko	očko	očíčko	eye
okno	okénko	okénečko	window
péro	pérko	pérečko	feather
poleno	polínko	polínečko	log
prkno	prkénko	-	board
rameno	ramínko	ramínečko	shoulder
sklo	-	skélko	glass
semeno	semínko	semínečko	seed
zrno	zrnko	zrnéčko	grain
žebro	žebírko	žebírečko	rib

Underlying Noun	First Degree Diminutive	Second Degree Diminutive	Gloss
2:5 #C suffixes			
2:6 Masculine gender			
hrad	hradec	hradeček	castle
prapor	praporec	praporeček	banner
-	věnec	věneček	wreath
2:7 Feminine gender			
hvězda	hvězdice	hvězdička	star
pánev	pánvice	pánvička	pan
pokladna	pokladnice	pokladnička	strong box
růže	růžice	růžička	rose